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TESTIMONY TO THE NATIONAL FIELD STUDY ON GANGS AND GANG VIOLENCE
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DAVID L. CAPRARA

DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR RESIDENT INITIATIVES
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

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NATIONAL FIELD STUDY ON GANGS AND GANG VIOLENCE
TESTIMONY OF DAVID L. CAPRARA, DEPARTMENT OF HUD

On behalf of Secretary Jack Kemp, I would like to commend Attorney General Designate William Barr, Assistant Attorney General Jimmy Gurule, and each of the five Bureaus of the Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, for this timely hearing. It is significant that this gathering is not being held in isolation from a distant federal office building but out here in the neighborhoods of Chicago, where the presence of gang violence has been a tragic daily reality in the lives of too many innocent children.

Author Alex Kotlowitz of the Wall Street Journal wrote a compelling indictment of the conditions of America's families residing in troubled, urban housing developments like Chicago's Henry Horner Homes. Kotlowitz writes that "The shooting. The screaming. Babies crying... Sometimes (LaJoe Rivers) thought it would drive her insane... Her hope, and mine, was that a book about the children would make us all hear... stop and listen."

LaJoe Rivers' poignant story, and her declaration that "there really are no children here", which you heard during yesterday's testimony, should be a call to arms for all of us in the federal government, local and state government, and private sector.

My own experience of working with inner-city kids began in the early 1980's when I worked in the Cabrini-Green public housing development on Chicago's near north side. I had the privilege of learning first hand from a great educator and youth mentor, Illinois State Representative Jesse C. White, who for more than 20 years has coached the now famous Jesse White Tumbling Team, as an alternative to gang involvement. This remarkable crew of young athletes all reside in the notorious Cabrini-Green development within Rep. White's district. Every day, under the shadows of the immense grey towers of public housing, little children can be seen practicing flips on ratty cast-off mattresses, with the hope of one day making it into the ranks of the Tumblers.

As the Tumblers' experience with Jesse White indicates, hope within our inner-city youth can yet be fanned with sincere and committed investment. Revitalizing that hope is the essence of Gene Lang's "I Have a Dream Program," which has already taken root in Chicago and several other public housing developments throughout the country. And nurturing that hope is what Vince Lane's work here in Chicago has been all about as he has directly challenged the dominion of gang lords.

We are assembled today to create what President Bush described as a "field of dreams" when he and Secretary Kemp visited the Cochran Gardens Tenant Management Corporation in public housing earlier this year. And we are here to fulfill the pledge that the President made last year when he visited the Alexandria, Virginia,

tenant patrol leaders who had faithfully camped out in all-night prayer vigils in the streets to call a halt to drug trafficking - his promise that this Administration would support these efforts and actively help to replicate this spirit of heroism and sacrifice that so many residents of America's inner cities have embodied.

These efforts have received bipartisan support. Many of the Secretary's empowerment and self-help initiatives have been aided by critical support from Members of Congress such as Illinois' own Senator Alan J. Dixon, who in 1987 cosponsored the public housing tenant management bill in the Senate (in concert with House sponsorship by then Congressman Jack Kemp). Since that time, Senator Dixon has continued to be a tireless advocate of public housing resident initiatives in Chicago's public housing and throughout the State of Illinois.

This field study is not simply a cerebral analysis, but, in fact, is a demonstration of unified, bipartisan federal action in cooperation with entities of state and local government, and community-based organizations such as the LeClaire Courts Resident Management Corporation and Henry Horner Boys and Girls Club which you heard from yesterday. We are here to pledge our support to Vince Lane and the Chicago Housing Authority, and more importantly, to public housing residents here and throughout the country. And we are here to declare that Washington will not rest until the scourge of gang violence and drug-related tragedy is eliminated from this country.

I know that we have rounded the corner on this issue. We know what works. We are aware of success stories throughout the Nation -- diamonds in the depths of our inner cities. It is to these brave pioneers that we should direct our attention and resources. Too much crucial time has already been wasted reciting a litany of failures and statistics of losses. We must work to support those who are making a difference and to facilitate their programs of success in every city of this country.

This movement is as significant as the forces which toppled the dominion of communist oppression in Moscow and throughout Eastern Europe. The source and power is the same for each -- the unquenchable human desire for freedom and dignity. The faith that empowered thousands of human figures to stand firm in the face of the challenge of army tanks is the same as the faith within the hearts of those in our inner cities, such as LeClaire Courts' Irene Johnson, who are determined to win their battle.

The violence experienced by the children of our inner cities is tragic beyond words. For every young boy found dead in the street are hundreds more who have "died" inside as their hearts have been forced to harden and to turn-off their capacity to feel. Throughout the 1990's we must redouble our efforts to end this tragedy. We must understand and attack this crisis at its roots -- environments of poverty and despair, dysfunctional educational institutions, families that are breaking down, and the moral

confusion that permeates our culture today.

Before beginning my presentation of the Federal role and the role of the Department of Housing and Urban Development in this effort, I want to acknowledge that the faith in God and inner moral courage that President Bush witnessed in the residents of Alexandria in their all night vigils is the force that will propel and ensure a lasting victory in this war on drugs.

As noted scholar, Peter Berger, proclaimed in his book "To Empower People," the most effective strategy in our battle to win back the cities is to empower and support the "mediating institutions" -- families, churches, and neighborhood entities such as resident management corporations in public housing -- which are society's "value-generating institutions." This strategy has been notably demonstrated and applied by Bob Woodson in his decade of pioneering work at the National Center for Neighborhood Enterprise to promote self-reliance.

Secretary Jack Kemp, in his capacity as chairman of the President's Economic Empowerment Task Force, has been a relentless champion of resident empowerment and devolution of assets to low-income families. The President's HOPE Program (Homeownership and Opportunity for People Everywhere) and the America 2000 education initiative have both utilized a principle of incorporating greater individual choice, market-oriented principles, and the empowerment of individuals and families as key elements in the formulation of federal programs.

This trend in the Bush Administration has been eloquently and forcefully captured by Deputy Assistant to the President James Pinkerton, whose "New Paradigm" and "Post Modern" analyses have promoted strategies that empower communities and unleash the imagination and creativity of the citizenry.

Pinkerton has praised Vince Lane for "transforming one of the most corrupt bureaucracies in the nation, surviving brickbats from special interests and death threats from drug-pushing gangs." He went on to cite the Chicago Housing Authority as one area where old and ineffective strategies that had been measured by cash input rather than outcome, have been overturned by a demand for effectiveness.

WHY GANGS ARE EFFECTIVE

As a prelude to a discussion of solutions promoted by Secretary Kemp and HUD's Office of Drug Free Neighborhoods, we should consider why gangs have been so effective in capturing the allegiance of too many of our youth. One of the central desires of young people is for respect and a sense of self worth. While society has too often written off the youth of our inner cities and considered them more as deficits than assets, those in the leadership of drug-related gangs recognize their creativity and

entrepreneurial instincts and solicit their talents.

It is imperative that we acknowledge the capabilities and insight of our young people. In fact, with firsthand knowledge of the problems that plague their communities and the responses of their peers, these youth could be a valuable resource in the formulation of policies to better their neighborhoods. As opportunities for training, employment and mentoring are made available to our young people, these legitimate challenges could take the place of the ventures they risk in the realm of gang life. It is conceivable that, through a sense of accomplishment and belonging, the allegiance now given to gangs could be transferred to parents, neighborhood mediating structures, and role models within the community. It will demand a major and continuous investment on the part of society.

Studies have shown that, to a great extent, it's not just the money, but a feeling of belonging, that has lured our youth into gang membership. As the need for relationship has grown, gangs have flourished.

Gangs in Chicago, such as the Disciples and Vice Lords, have been entrenched for decades. They have taken on the model that came out of Los Angeles. Three to four years ago, the LA gangs' turf became so overworked that they had to form hubs elsewhere and franchise outward -- like McDonalds. Gang entrepreneurs can set up businesses in any neighborhoods.

Public housing, such as that in Chicago, provides ideal breeding ground for gangs for a number of reasons. Heavy traffic in these areas is conducive to drug sales that take only 10 or 12 seconds without negotiation. A complex of streets and high-rise buildings provides multiple escape routes. There is an abundance of youth to be recruited and, until recently, a community too terrified to fight back.

In addressing this issue, we should not treat all gang elements the same and we should be specific in the target of our efforts. We must continue to use strike force type law enforcement action and intense undercover enforcement efforts to remove the inner circle of gang leaders -- the drug lords, kingpins, and associate groups.

From a gang elimination perspective, the Clean Sweeps are effective in securitizing individual buildings and in addressing the kids on the street, but they may leave the inner-circle untouched. Last week's highly successful combined drug raid ("Operation Triggerlock") on the Vice Lords gang by local police and agents of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms and the DEA and IRS, is a splendid example of coordinated law enforcement to crack the center circle. Operation Triggerlock netted 54 arrests and 79 federal and state indictments, and confiscation of more than 400 weapons including machine guns. A raid spokesperson stated that "this 7 percent of the population that is involved with

narcotics, guns and repeat felonies is responsible for about 80 percent of crimes committed."

The middle level of the gang organization, like middle management (those who make the sales and are hired under the supervision of the inner circle) need strong law enforcement intervention coupled with support systems, like witness protection programs, to draw them outward.

It's with the third, peripheral element that we can be most effective in prevention activities -- the youngsters. They are not driving the industry but serving as lookout; doing hand signals and painting the graffiti; and transporting packages. These are the kids that must be given positive options if they are to escape the realm of the drug industry. -

The only reason gangs are effective is because they respond to a fundamental need of young people. The gangs offer a community around which they band together, offer jobs, resources, and are challenged. We need to replicate that support structure by revitalizing and empowering neighborhood mediating institutions; restoring families and mentoring role models; and constructively channeling the idealism and energies of our nation's most valuable resource. Boys and Girls Clubs, resident management corporations, Jesse White Tumbling Teams, Midnight Basketball Leagues, active church-based "Adopt a Family" programs, Marva Collins Prep Schools, and I Have A Dream Chapters, are just a few examples where this alternative support framework is working well in many public housing communities.

FEDERAL INTERAGENCY ROLE

Strategy III of the National Drug Control Policy focuses on public housing with more than 41 projects government-wide targeting the elimination of drugs in public housing developments.

I would like to commend my federal colleagues on this panel for the tremendous cooperation and good effort of Health and Human Services, Labor, and Education who have enjoined this battle so well together.

We at HUD have been especially pleased with the interest and coordination efforts that have been ongoing with various levels of the Justice Department in law enforcement coordination, lease and asset forfeiture, Weed and Seed initiative, and other activities. HUD welcomes the DOJ Weed and Seed initiative as a timely vehicle to spur greater law enforcement coordination at all levels of government along with the seeding of effective community-based prevention programs. We also believe this type of coordinated effort needs to be provided in collaboration with HUD's effort to replicate the Clean Sweep approach nationwide.

On the prevention side, Bob Sweet, Administrator of the Office

of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, has been a real leader in forging partnerships with HUD, the Chicago Housing Authority, and national private sector entities like the Boys and Girls Clubs of America. HUD's Office of Resident Initiatives and Drug Free Neighborhoods unit are fully committed to expanding this partnership in tangible and substantial ways.

In addition to specific joint agency projects, we have invited OJJDP to cosponsor a National Youth Initiatives Confab in the Spring of 1992 following HUD's award of \$15 million in Youth Sports grants in public housing. We project involvement of about 4,000 youth in this program in public housing communities, including initiatives like the CHA Midnight Basketball program.

In the eyes of HUD and Secretary Kemp, the drug and gang violence issue in Chicago is a national test issue. He has instructed each of his ten regional administrators to meet with their federal interagency counterparts and establish interagency working groups with Federal, state and local officials for identification and coordination of resources and conducting joint interagency actions.

The task force effort promoted by Chicago Regional Administrator Gertrude Jordan has been a flagship effort in this regard, along with the Drug Enforcement Administration SAC Frank White and other agencies you will be hearing from on this panel and subsequent panels at this hearing. I will let Gertrude Jordan provide the update on this regional activity in her following report.

While I have high praise for all of these interagency efforts, let me also note that I think we can and must do more together. HUD has discussed with the Office of National Drug Control Policy the need to more specifically address this targeting issue Administration-wide in the federal budget review process. I also think a more systematic approach to integration of interagency services after the completion of each "Clean Sweep" project is called for. Also, I would like to challenge my federal colleagues to support the efforts of the CHA Task Force, and the Ida B. Wells joint initiative proposed by the Task Force. This project could be a case example of the tremendous outcomes that can occur through more unified federal support, directed on a regionalized basis, for the heroic anti-drug efforts occurring in so many public housing communities today.

CHICAGO HUD PROGRAM INITIATIVES

Clean Sweep Model

Operation Clean Sweep, developed by the Chicago Housing Authority, is an emergency, maintenance and intervention program for drug and gang-related crime in high rise public housing developments. Implementation of Clean Sweep re-establishes management control over multi-family, high-rise, elevator-operated buildings.

The program requires close coordination between the PHA, Mayor Daley, city agencies, police department, residents, social service agencies and HUD staff. Program success is dependent upon addressing not only the issue of drugs but the problems inherent in it: unemployment, teen pregnancy, infant mortality, school absenteeism/dropout rate and violent crime.

Implementation

Successful planning and implementation of a Sweep is based on a 90-day cycle, which begins with the Executive Director's decision to sweep a specific development and ends with the creation of resident programs, tighter security and improved management within the complex.

Working on the premise of bold intervention and surprise, a "sweep" occurs unannounced in a drug-infested high-rise development. Nearly 200 police and security officers, inspectors and construction workers descend upon the building and "sweep" it of gangs and drugs. In the high-rise structures swept so far by the CHA, success stories abound. In Chicago's Rockwell Gardens, children now play outdoors freely because open gun fire, once rampant, has now become virtually non-existent. After a sweep, buildings are better maintained and free of graffiti.

The cost for conducting the first stage of a Sweep within one high-rise building is \$150,000 to \$160,000. This includes enclosing the building, establishing a security station, and conducting inspections and repairs of common areas. The CHA projects that the governmental expenditures on Clean Sweep are quickly recouped in vacancy and vandalism reductions in the one year following the action.

Full implementation of Clean Sweep treats both the symptoms and root causes of crime and drug activity in high rise structures. After a full "Sweep" the following has been accomplished:

- o building maintenance problems have been solved
- o vacant units are prepared for occupancy

- o single entrance is created, which controls traffic within the building
- o property and personal crime are reduced
- o community services are restored for residents.

Clean Sweep Replication within CHA

Major initiatives, based on the Clean Sweep model, have been implemented in two of CHA's largest developments, Robert Taylor Homes and Ida B. Wells.

Robert Taylor is the nation's largest public housing development and one of its most troubled. Twelve of the buildings in Robert Taylor have been secured under Operation Clean Sweep. One hundred officers from the Chicago Police Department have subsequently been deployed in foot and mobile patrols since the activity. In 1990, the first year after an official sweep, there was a sharp increase in the number of arrests within Taylor Homes.

An outgrowth of Clean Sweep at Taylor is creation of a "Cluster Initiative" whereby the housing agency has joined with the Chicago Urban League, Public School System and United Neighborhood Organization to enhance the quality of inner-city families lives.

The Ida B. Wells development is one of CHA's oldest. So far, five of the 14 high-rise developments at Wells have been secured through Clean Sweep. Before Clean Sweep, there was a significant increase (19%) from 638 to 755 serious crimes for 1988 to 1989. After Clean Sweep, by mid-1991, crime was down to 288 incidents. If this rate continues, Wells should see a 24% drop in crime by the end of 1991.

A Resident Management Corporation is operating at Wells with a technical assistance grant from HUD and funds from the Continental Bank Foundation. The Ida B. Wells Community Initiative is a national demonstration model currently underway that tests the effects of community-wide participation on neighborhood renewal and community economic development.

Since 1988, CHA has swept more than 72 high-rise buildings. An additional 70 sites within the CHA are yet to be swept.

After a sweep, residents are less fearful, and a dramatic drop in school absenteeism with more children on the honor roll has been reported.

Chicago Grant Funding from HUD

In FY '91, nearly \$35 million in HUD anti-drug funding will go to the CHA through the drug grants, Comprehensive Improvement Assistance Program (CIAP), and CDBG combined. And \$247 million in CIAP public housing rehabilitation funding - nearly half the funding given to the CHA since the modernization program began 23 years ago - has been awarded under the Bush Administration. In addition to funding security related modernization improvements to create defensible space, the public housing drug elimination grant funding last year included:

- o securing 12 buildings, as well as continuing post-sweep efforts in five buildings swept in 1991
- o hiring 50 police officers at buildings swept during 1992
- o developing tenant patrols in five buildings swept in 1992 with 12 new patrols added in 1992
- o implementing security systems in swept buildings
- o creating resident organization councils to groom resident leaders and bring about needed services.

National Replication

HUD's Office for Drug-Free Neighborhoods (ODFN), in the Office of Public and Indian Housing, will conduct a five session training program on the Clean Sweep model during 1992. HUD's regional offices recommended 23 "troubled" PHAs for possible training. Since then, six have developed assessments of their properties to qualify. The three-day training will include participation in an actual Sweep on CHA property.

Information on Clean Sweep is being included in a new video-documentary prepared by the U.S. Department of State about the government's successful efforts to fight illegal drugs.

CHA's success with the Clean Sweep model was publicized in a recent issue of Newsweek, which also focused on successes at the "swept" Lake Parc development. Lake Parc is now an economically integrated community with half of the 282 apartments designated for working families (the other half for very low income public housing residents).

NATIONAL HUD PROGRAM STRATEGIES

The Department's Strategy

HUD's initiative for drug-free public housing emphasizes the effective use of management techniques to regain control of drug-ridden buildings, such as those demonstrated in the Chicago Housing Authority's Clean Sweep model; enforcement strategies, such as the use of police mini-stations on site and the implementation of successful community policing techniques; and prevention efforts, as incorporated in youth leadership and resident-organized programs.

The Department's anti-drug effort is, however, part of a larger effort to free human capital to help restore America's inner cities. This major initiative is, in fact, a continuum that begins with eliminating drugs from impoverished communities through the use of public housing drug elimination grants. Following this activity to "securitize" public housing, residents become ready for organization and training in property management and maintenance through resident management programs. Since 1989, the number of resident management entities has increased from 13 to more than 200 organizations. These groups utilize some of the most effective tenant security patrols and building monitoring systems in our country's low-income communities. In FY '91, the Department provided \$5 million in resident grants at a maximum of \$100,000 per grantee.

Following resident organization and improved management capability, entrepreneurial and other job creation and supportive services are brought into the community. The Administration's "Enterprise Zone" concept will help unleash additional entrepreneurial investments in these distressed areas. The Resident Initiatives Program also includes a strong supportive services component, combining the HUD Child Care Demonstration Grant Program with expansion of Headstart centers in public housing developments.

Under the President's Homeownership and Opportunity for People Everywhere (HOPE) Program, \$351 million in FY'92 technical assistance and grants will be offered to public housing residents to provide expanded opportunities for resident management, economic development, and homeownership. Through the devolution of assets and a real "equity stake" in public housing neighborhoods, residents, themselves, will be able to play a far greater role in stabilizing their communities while rekindling the spirit and pride that comes with homeownership.

Drug Elimination Grants

The HUD Public Housing Drug Elimination Grant Program (PHDEP) has very effectively served to build community partnerships and collaborative efforts among local agencies and the federal government and local community residents.

The Office of Drug Free Neighborhoods within Public and Indian Housing is specifically tasked with the administration of the Department's PHDEP. In FY '89, \$8.2 million was ultimately awarded to 37 housing authorities. In FY '90, \$97.9 million was awarded to 350 PHAs and 15 IHAs.

On June 19, 1991, the Public Housing Drug Elimination Grant Program announced \$140.8 million in funds with 755 applications received by August 9, 1991.

Secretary Kemp has also actively supported the creation of the public housing Youth Sports Initiative. This week, a Notice in the Federal Register will announce the availability of \$15 million in FY'91-92 combined funding for this important initiative to encourage and replicate the discipline and positive alternatives provided by youth sports and cultural programs.

Technical Assistance and Training

For FY '92, \$5 million will be made available for technical assistance and training initiatives. On April 11, 1991, a total of \$575,000 in technical assistance mini-grants was announced by the Department to combat drugs in public housing. Such technical assistance will be furnished to project management and resident groups in order for them to plan, develop and implement community drug prevention and elimination programs to confront the widespread abuse of controlled substances in public and Indian housing.

In December 1990, the Office for Drug-Free Neighborhoods produced the agency's first videoconference, which addressed the drug issue. More than 2,500 residents, housing authority staff and state, local and federal officials participated in the four-hour event, transmitted by satellite to 19 cities around the country.

A training needs assessment was conducted as part of the nationwide training teleconference. This assessment analyzed responses of 870 participants. Respondents rated as high priority a need for training in youth drug prevention programs, law enforcement strategies, and management techniques. Participants were also asked to list the favored training format and the services most useful to them for drug-related issues. They overwhelmingly chose regional training and on-site technical assistance.

Clearinghouse

The Drug Information and Strategy Clearinghouse (DISC) serves as the information collection and dissemination point for HUD. DISC responds to inquiries for technical informational materials, how-to guides, and grant applications. In FY '90, DISC responded to more than 3,500 requests for information, and distributed more than 5,300 products.

Eviction/Legal Tools

In further efforts to remove drug dealing tenants from public housing and replace those units with law-abiding residents, the Department has toughened its eviction policy through a proposed new ruling, published in February 1991. The revised public housing lease regulation makes it clear that PHAs may evict tenants, members of the household and guests for drug-related or other criminal activities. Public housing leases must contain a provision to this effect.

The regulation was also revised to speed the eviction process while protecting tenant rights.

Local Cooperation Agreement and Municipal Role

Through the agency's Annual Contributions Contract (ACC) between local housing authorities and the Department, HUD underscores the responsibility of municipalities to provide public services and facilities of the same character and to the same extent as are furnished without cost or charge to non-public housing dwellings within the same municipality. Historically, within public housing communities, there has been a lack of comparable services in law enforcement, education and health care due to the insulation and segregation of public housing from the mainstream of municipal policymaking. The Department wishes to work cooperatively with local authorities, through the ACC agreement, to ensure that this segment of the population receives these necessary and comparable services.

In closing, let me again commend the U.S. Department of Justice, my other federal agency colleagues, the State of Illinois and City of Chicago, Chicago Housing Authority, and residents throughout this great city for the heroic stance you have taken in this war on drugs. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., once said there is no greater calling than to give one's life in a cause designed to save the soul of a nation. The witnesses we have heard from over the past two days certainly exemplify this calling in a most important way.

We at the Department of HUD will seek to incorporate the findings of this Field hearing in our ongoing efforts to bring about a new urban renaissance and ultimate success in Chapter Two of the war on poverty and gang violence in the inner cities of this country.

Thank you.